

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0465

NOFORN

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: BILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH POLISH REPS
ON OCTOBER 2, 1975

ON OCTOBER 2, 1975, US REP AND DEPREP HAD DISCUSSION
WITH DEPARTING POLISH REPRESENTATIVE TUDUSZ
STRULAK. DISCUSSION WAS A US INITIATIVE. STRULAK WAS
ACCOMPANIED BY SLAWOMIR DABROWA, THE INCOMING
POLISH REPRESENTATIVE. DABROWA TOOK LITTLE PART IN THE
CONVERSATION. SDTRULAK MADE THE FOLLOWING MAIN POINTS:

1. STRULAK CONSIDERED THE PROCLAIMED INCREASE IN THE
INTEREST OF EASTERN LEADERS IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS
FOLLOWING CONCLUSION OF CSCE TO BE GENUINE. HE BELIEVED
IT WOULD SHOW ITSELF IN PRACTICAL WAYS.

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2. STRULAK SEVERAL TIMES STATED THAT HE CONSIDERED THAT DISCUSSION OF FORCE DEFINITIONS COULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO AGREEMENT SATISFYING BOTH SIDES, INCLUDING POSSIBLY TO AGREEMENT ON THE COMMON CEILING. STRULAK DID NOT SPECIFY FURTHER ON THIS POINT, EXCEPT TO INDICATE THAT, IF THE POLISH AND CZECHOSLOVAK GROUND-BASED AIR DEFENSE PERSONNEL WERE MOVED TO THE AIR FORCE, NATO TOTALS FOR WARSAW PACT FORCES "WOULD NOT BE FAR OFF."

3. WESTERN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD REALIZE THAT THERE IS PUBLIC OPINION ON THE EASTERN SIDE ALSO, ESPECIALLY IN THE SOVIET UNION. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE WEST SHOULD BE MORE IMAGINATIVE ABOUT THE WAY IT FORMULATED ITS PROPOSALS. GIVEN THEIR ATTITUDES, ONE COULD NOT EXPECT SOVIET LEADERS TO ACCEPT THE IDEA OF ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS IF THEY WERE FORCED TO ACCEPT THIS CONCEPT AS A GENERAL PRINCIPLE. BUT THEY MIGHT AGREE TO THINGS WHICH AMOUNTED TO ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS IN PRACTICE.

4. AGAIN IN THE CONTEXT OF EASTERN PUBLIC OPINION, THE WEST SHOULD REALIZE THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE IN THE EASTERN PERCEPTION BETWEEN FREEZING WESTERN EUROPEAN, PARTICULARLY FEDERAL GERMAN, FORCES AND REDUCING THESE FORCES. THIS MEANT THAT A FIRST AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE SOME FEDERAL GERMAN REDUCTIONS. BUT THE GERMAN REDUCTION COMPONENT COULD BE AS LITTLE AS 5 PERCENT OF THE WESTERN TOTAL.

5. STRULAK AND DABROWA INDICATED THAT THEY EXPECTED A WESTERN INITIATIVE TO REDUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. US REPS DID NOT CONFIRM.

6. US REPS MADE THE POINT THAT, IF ONE WAS SPEAKING IN THE CONTEXT OF USING MORE IMAGINATION IN FORMULATION, IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF THE POLES COULD HELP MAKE IT EASIER FOR SOVIET LEADERS TO SEE THAT THE NET GAIN TO SOVIET AND WARSAW PACT SECURITY FROM AN AGREEMENT OF THE TYPE PROPOSED BY THE WEST WOULD BE GREATER FOR THE EAST THAN THE POSSIBLE DECREASE IN SECURITY CAUSED BY THE PROPOSED EASTERN REDUCTIONS, AND ALSO THAT IN THE CASE OF THE SOVIETS THE
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FACT THAT THEIR REDUCTIONS WOULD BE LARGER WAS COUNTER-BALANCED BY THE FACT THAT SOVIET FORCES WOULD BE WITHDRAWN ONLY A SHORT DISTANCE AND THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT BE UNDERTAKING ANY OVERALL LIMITATION ON THE SIZE OF THEIR FORCES AS NATO WOULD.

7. COMMENT: WE CONSIDER THAT STRULAK'S REMARKS BY AND LARGE TEND TO CORROBORATE THE ANALYSIS CONTAINED IN

MBFR VIENNA 0394 THAT THE EAST MAY BE PLACING ITSELF IN A POSITION TO RESPOND TO OPTION 3 BY INDICATING WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT A COMMON CEILING IN GROUND FORCES, PERHAPS MOVING PART OF THE DISPARITY TO AIR FORCES AND FURTHER REDUCING THE DISPARITY THROUGH DATA DISCUSSION (SEE ALSO MBFR VIENNA A-131 DATED SEPTEMBER 26, 1975 FOR FURTHER POLISH REMARKS ALONG SIMILAR LINES). STRULAK'S COMMENTS ON THE PRESENT OCCASION AND OTHER POLISH STATEMENTS SHOULD BE EVALUATED WITH CAUTION. THE POLES ARE PERHAPS MORE INTERESTED IN AN OUTCOME OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS THAN ANY OTHER PARTICIPANT. CONSEQUENTLY, THEIR REMARKS IN CONVERSATIONS WITH WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES TEND TO CARRY OPTIMISTIC CONNOTATIONS. WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN ANY EVIDENCE THAT THE MORE POSITIVE AND FLEXIBLE POLISH VIEWS HAVE ANY PRACTICAL EFFECT ON THE SOVIET POSITION. END COMMENT.RESOR

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